There are many kinds of sickness in Lolo families, but instead of using medicine, they effect cures through magic. First, the pi-mu will decide which evil spirit caused the sickness; then he will perform magic to cure it through exorcism. The way to cure a sick person is to send off the evil spirit, called "sending off the Buddha" by the Han-Chinese of the border regions. According to Lolo tradition, all sicknesses and misfortunes are caused by evil spirits. Therefore, three times each year, on the third, seventh, and tenth months of the lunar calendar, they perform an exorcising ceremony for the purpose of driving away the ghosts to ensure peace and safety for the family.

While the author was staying at San-ho-i-ta in Taling Shan, he witnessed with his own eyes an exorcising ceremony at Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household. The pi-mu, a villager, was a white Lolo called Shê-chia-erh. Followed by his disciple, who was none other than his twelve-or thirteen-year-old son, he performed with a bagful of magic tools. Both master and disciple sat side by side behind the kitchen stove which was ordinarily the seat for honored guests. The father and son tied together a straw figure and cut some wood into tiny pieces that looked like coins. Then Shê-chia-erh rang a bell and began to recite the scripture, his disciple following him in the recitation. As they were chanting the scripture, they worked with their hands on the straw figure. The pi-mu then put a piece of stone inside the stove until it became red hot, after which he took it out of the stove, carried it with him to the master's bedroom, and walked around it once as if to chase away the ghosts. After this he came back and sat down again on the ground to recite more scripture, at the same time distributing the wooden pieces.

After the pi-mu had tied up four straw figures, Ta-chi, his wife nee En-cha, and their three children all squatted on the right side of the stove, the whole family making a circle. A white Lolo slave then grasped a cock with both hands and circled it above Ta-chi's head nine times before handing it to Shê-chia-erh. Then, with all his strength, the pi-mu struck the cock's neck with a sharp knife, all the time incessantly reciting the charms. After the cock had died, its blood was spread over the straw figures and the feathers were stuck on their bodies. The slave then led in a goat and held it seven times around Ta-chi's and the others' heads before killing it and sprinkling its blood over the straw figures. As the Lolo consider an odd number to be lucky, there has to be seven or nine rounds. The death of the cock and goat has the

[Errata, Should be "Wang" — Analyst.]

789 idea of vicarious suffering for another's sins, somewhat similar to the Jewish concept of the scapegoat.

The pi-mu continued to perform many kinds of magic, blowing on the chicken to make noise and distributing the wooden coins. At the same time the Lolo inside the house shouted [98] and yelled, making noise until midnight. Finally they carried the straw figures and wooden coins outside the house to be thrown away in distant places before they burst forth into another round of outcries. The straw figures, shaped after the evil spirits, represent what Frazer calls imitative magic. After the vicarious punishment of the chicken and goat, these figures would be cast off outside the house so that they would not cast evil spells inside to further injure the living or cause illness.

The interpreter of the inspection team, Hu Chan-yün, was also a Lolo pi-mu. He once told the author that the first [776] scripture which Shê-chia-erh recited is an invitation to the mountain spirit, mi-hsi, which shows that the Lolo pay special attention to the mountain spirits; the second scripture contains an imprecation on those clan enemies who have been cursing the master of the family; the third is a book of exorcism to expel the ghosts and evil spirits from the house. The Lolo believe that the spells cast by evil spirits originate from enemy imprecations, and that the method of delivery from the curse is a counter-imprecation through exorcism, which will bring destruction to the enemies of the family.

755 The su-nieh is a Lolo magician who also specializes in curing sickness, but his magic differs slightly from that of the pi-mu. After having led a sheep or a pig around the body of a sick person three times, the su-nieh kills the animal and places it outside the door. His body shivering all over, he leaps and beats on a drum, uttering meaningless loud cries; next, holding in his mouth the sheep's genitals, he tosses them to and fro three or four times. The sheep's skin is then peeled off and given to him as a reward for his services, in the same way as the pi-mu gets his animal skin. Finally, after taking up a jar shaped from mud and covered with a lid, the su-nieh goes into the house to search for evil spirits to put inside the jar, which is immediately covered and taken out to be buried in the ground. This means that the evil spirit has been buried and will never again cast its harmful spell on the people.

789 From the rituals of exorcism it can be seen that the
754 Lolo practice imprecation in clan feuds to destroy their enemies. As we know, there are two kinds of magic, the white

789 754 and the black. White magic is for good intentions, such as praying for rain; black magic is for harmful intentions, such as the imprecation of enemies and so forth. The pi-mu is also invited to make imprecations, sometimes sponsored by one family alone and other times by a clan or a village, depending upon whether they are against individual or common enemies.

754 There are different ways of making imprecations, which cannot be completely enumerated here. However, a few examples will suffice to give a general picture. First, kill a dog and recite from the scripture. The enemy thus cursed will die when he sees the dog. The dead dog is always hung on a tree in the middle of the road to prevent the enemy from crossing over. During this trip the author saw many dogs hanging — evidence of the black magic practiced by the Lolo. Second, kill a chicken and imprecate over it. This method involves hanging the chicken's head in the direction of the enemy so as to harm him. Third, use a pheasant or a wild pigeon, on whose neck is tied the name of the enemy written by a pi-mu. After having performed [99] the magic and made the imprecation, the bird is set free so that it will fly over to the enemy's homestead to strike him with sudden disease and death. Fourth, make a straw figure of the enemy and imprecate it over the blood and feathers of a chicken. Afterwards, the figure is carried to the enemy's fields so that in passing the place, the enemy will inevitably encounter the evil spirit and die. Fifth, carve on a piece of wood the enemy's figure and write on it the enemy's name with snake blood. Then the figure is secretly thrown inside the enemy's household, upon which great calamity will inevitably descend. A sixth method is to make a straw figure out of a piece of leprous leg bone and to imprecate the enemy's name over it. This is then placed stealthily inside the enemy's house or in his fields so that he will die from the curse. The imprecation over the straw figure made with a leprous bone represents a combined use of imitative and contagious magic. It is imitative in that the straw figure imitates the shape of the enemy, and contagious in that leprosy can be made infectious to him. The combination of these two forms of magic is known as sympathetic magic.

789 The Lolo practice black magic. In their secret contest against clan enemies, they often engage in mutual imprecation and search for powerful means to threaten and injure the opposite side and for magic to repel enemy attack. Sometimes,

789 because of unlucky portents, they also ask the pi-mu to perform magic to find out where the enemy has buried the bone so as to destroy the wicked plot. In brief, the Lolo use magic to fight magic, and the battle of magic coincides with and parallels the battle of weapons.

[715] 784 At the time of death, according to Lolo belief, a man's soul runs away from this world to another. Like many other primitive people, they regard death as an important juncture and crisis in life. During this turning-point, their emotions are not only tense but also complicated. During the burial ceremony are expressed on the one hand the respect and love for the dead and on the other hand a sense of fear that comes as a reaction to the decaying human body.

Practically all the people in the world have similar funeral rites attended by close relatives. When a member of the Lolo family breathes his last, not only the whole family mourns together, but all his relatives, neighbors, friends, and slaves come to offer condolences by presenting gifts of oxen, wine, and various other items. Then they wash the corpse, arrange his hair, dress him in new clothes and ornaments, and assemble for a round of crying and mourning, after which they kill oxen or sheep to feast and drink together.

[787] The Lolo practice cremation. The entire corpse is burned after a person has been dead a day or two, or longer, the period to be determined by the pi-mu who selects the lucky date. They make a coarse wooden chair with two long boards on either side and a wooden plank across the middle — altogether nine pieces of wood for a man and seven pieces for a woman. The fully dressed corpse is then [100] placed on the wooden chair to be carried outside the house by four white Lolo slaves. Another slave in the front leads with a saddled horse and walks directly to the cremation ground to signify that the soul is departing on horseback. The place for burning the corpse is usually on a mountain at the back of the house. They spade a square piece of level ground, plant wooden stakes at the four corners, and on the forks above the stakes lay four horizontal pieces of wood as a scaffolding. Above it is placed a square plaited sieve of bamboo, on which is laid the wooden chair with the corpse. For the cremation, torches are lighted simultaneously on all four sides. When the flames rise, the Lolo outside the house immediately kill an ox with a big knife and beat the sheep to death with wooden poles in preparation for sacrificial offerings and a feast for the living.

[767 564] People who specialize in burning corpses are usually old and poor white Lolo, as most people are unwilling to take up this job.

789 Death, of course, is an important phase of human life, but business failure is also a critical or turning point. The Lolo rely upon agricultural products for their principal food; whenever drought occurs to threaten the crops, the Lolo will undertake a rain-praying ceremony in order to control the weather through magic. To pray for rain, they always use a white sheep or a white chicken to propitiate the mountain spirit. The pi-mu performs magic by scattering chicken blood and feathers in different places so that it will look like rain and snow. This is also [102] imitative magic. The recognition of [825] white birds and animals as something sacred and mysterious is a universal phenomenon in primitive society. For example, the white horse in Syria and Central Asia, and the white ox, white deer, and white fox among the American Indians are all considered supernatural. When the pi-mu performs, the villagers would help by yelling and making a loud noise. Some of them would shoot a gun to shock the mountain spirit, while the others would cry madly to scare away the ghosts and evil spirits. They run around and bestir themselves to the utmost to enable the rain to fall down from the precipices and to help accomplish the purpose of magic.

784 The Lolo have many kinds of interdiction which is called "taboo" in the English language. According to Frazer's interpretation, it is a negative magic. For instance, people are forbidden to step over the kitchen stove because it will offend the god of fire, the basic reason being that fire can harm human life; it is forbidden to saddle a horse inside the house because this is connected with the ritual for sending off the dead; a person going on a trip is not allowed to sweep the ground before leaving the house lest the evil spirits follow him and cause him trouble on the road. Interdictions like these are too many to be enumerated. Whereas positive magic is what ought to be done to achieve a certain goal, negative magic is what should not be done to avoid misfortune. Therefore, interdiction is only an extension of magic.

695 The Lolo also practice the ordeal, which is another form of magic, to determine a person's guilt. For instance, groping for an egg is used for trying a suspect. This method calls for the pi-mu to first recite the scripture, then boil a large pan of water, and throw the egg in it. The suspect is ordered to put his hand in the boiling water to pick up the egg. If his hand is not scalded, he is proved innocent. The method of chewing rice in the mouth is another kind of ordeal. After the pi-mu has recited the scripture, the suspect is asked to put a small pinch of red or white rice into the mouth and to spit it out after

695 chewing to see if there is any blood on the rice. If not, then he is not guilty. Ordeal is practiced on members of the same clan for stealing, robbing, cheating, and so forth. While it is an [673 honorable deed to rob and steal from enemy clans, it is con- 609] sidered a crime to do the same to members of one's own clan. Sometimes crimes can be resolved through a blood covenant. Also, a white Lolo, if he wants, can win the black Lolo's confidence through swearing or candid confession. To do this, he kills a chicken and drops its blood into the wine, which he drinks in one draught. This will have the effect of signifying that any unlawful cheating of his master will result in his suffering the same fate as the dead chicken.

675 Covenant is a form of action used by the Lolo to win the confidence of others. Its performance involves the use of ● 789 magic, but it is also a contract according to primitive law. Whenever there are business transactions, guarantees for safe travel, or an alliance in clan-feud fighting, they always hire a pi-mu to kill the chicken and imprecate over it, both sides [103] pledging each other with blood wine. There is another example called "ch'ü ox hide," a form of covenant made by the black Lolo when they surrender to Han-Chinese officials, or when they guarantee the safe passage of Han-Chinese officials in Liang Shan. To perform it, they kill an ox and hang its skin with the head, tail, and four legs on a wooden scaffold, the whole should look like an ox standing with its head facing east and the tail toward the west. At the time the pi-mu recites the scripture and performs magic, the black Lolo who are surrendering crawl in from under the tail of the ox and then come out from under the head; meanwhile they swear that they will not rebel again. The blood wine is then brought forth and drunk together by both the Han-Chinese and the Lolo. As the most solemn form of covenant, it is also a manifestation of the magic power that rules over Lolo society.

3:Ma--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 AE 4 Lolo AE 4

EXORCISM, A CUSTOM OF THE BLACK LOLO

The Lolo people are superstitious. Every time sickness or disaster befalls them, they believe that in this mysterious universe some evil spirits are at work, and the only recourse they have is to ask their Pai-mao [wizard priest] to chant liturgies for the extirpation of bad luck. 181 755

In the early summer of 1943 I was engaged in a research study of the Lolo language among the Black Lolo (Heh-I) at the Mou-lien district in Wu-ting, and had occasion to observe their customs and rituals in relation to the translation of the Lolo scriptures. This is because what is recorded in their scriptures is largely the gist of their customs and rituals. So in order to thoroughly understand the Lolo scriptures, it is necessary to become familiar with the customs of their tribe. 121

An exorcising ceremony was witnessed by me at Wan-teh village. The mistress of the house was a certain Mrs. An Hsiao-tseng, whose nephew had been wounded by bandits and was confined to bed. Although they had secured some herb medicine to be applied to the wounds, she would not believe that the medicine could heal the wounds, contending that they were the result of some evil influence. As long as the evil spirit remained the wounded person could not get well, and she begged leave of me to ask the Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan, who was translating the scriptures with me to perform exorcism for her. As I was eager to observe the rite I readily agreed. 755 789

Although it was only early summer, the weather was unbearably hot, as Wan-teh was a hollow plain surrounded by mountains and completely dried up for the lack of rainfall in many months. I went to the house after lunch with two Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan and Chang tzu-hsin, but the ritual lasted until the starlit night. The whole ceremony consisted of two [132]

755 789 parts, outdoor and indoor, the former taking up a greater part of the day. In the fierce heat of the sun I observed the performances of Chang Wen-yuan and at the same time asked Chang tzu-hsin for explanations regarding the different rituals and their meanings. Although the hot sun gave me a headache, the thrill of acquiring new knowledge was rewarding. In the following are explained in two parts both the indoor and outdoor rituals of exorcism.

I. Indoor Sacrifice

(1) Preparations

When the Pai-mao arrived at the house to perform exorcism, they began making two effigies with rice straw, one a horse and the other a man astride it. Then they wrapped red and green cloth around the straw figure as his garment. This figure is known to the Lolo as chi-tsu. They took a branch of a cypress tree, cut one end of it into two halves like the two ears of a head, and tied silk threads on them. This branch was supposed to represent the spirit soldiers of the chi-tsu, and called by the Lolo, pu-tsu.

(2) The Basis of the Legend

755 773 789 It was said that in very ancient times there were two half brothers, Chang Hsiao and Chang Li. The former was born by his father's first wife, but filial to his stepmother. One day the stepmother became very sick and was on the verge of death beyond any medical cure. Suddenly she had a revelation to the effect that her sickness could be cured by the heart of the phoenix in the imperial palace. So Chang Hsiao sneaked into the palace and stole the phoenix. The prescription was effective and in a few days the patient became well.

But the emperor discovered the theft and had Chang Hsiao arrested and condemned to death. The stepmother heard the news and felt remorseful, saying to her own son, Chang Li: "Son, your elder brother is condemned to death for my sake. His filial piety has moved me greatly. You should die for him in order to show your brotherly love." Chang Li was obedient and went to the execution ground to die for his brother. Being full of filial and fraternal love, Chang Hsiao would not allow his brother to be executed for him. Therefore, at the execution ground the two brothers struggled to die, one for the other. The emperor was moved with compassion by their piety and brotherly love. But the law of the country was fixed and the sentence could not be changed. So he devised a straw effigy to take the place of Chang Hsiao to receive punishment, [28] and the brothers were spared.

Another account has it that Chang Hsiao was a criminal who was promised by a T'ang Emperor as a victim to Heaven. In a certain year during the T'ang dynasty, so the story runs, there was great calamity in the world with people suffering untold hardships. The emperor willed twenty-four heads to Heaven as sacrificial items. When afterwards the calamity was averted, the twenty-four men, including Huang Chao and Chang Hsiao, were to be beheaded. The rest of the story as to how Chang Hsiao was spared is similar to the previous account, that is, the emperor was moved by his filial piety and devised a straw effigy to take his place. There are still other versions, with which we will not be concerned here.

In sum, all these stories go to show that the straw effigy was a substitute for some living person whose crime can be redeemed by its destruction. The practice of the Lolo is based upon this theory as they believe that all the disasters of the family can be banished with the straw man through the incantations of the Pai-mao.

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(3) The Ritual of the Indoor Sacrifice

755 789 After the straw effigy was made, the Pai-mao placed a measure of grain by the doorsill inside the main entrance of the house. On one side of the grain was placed a bowl of rice, on which were an egg and a lump of salt; on the other side a cup of wine. Two cypress leaves were burned and dipped into a bowl of cold water to be used in the place of tea. Three cypress branches were stuck into the earth before the doorsill, on both sides of which stood chi-tsu and pu-tsu. While the branches were being stuck on the ground the human and horse effigies should face toward the house.

After the display the Pai-mao began his exorcising incantation. He first burned red hot a piece of rock, on which he threw water boiled in mulberry leaves. Over the rising vapor caused by the evaporation the priest held the sacrificial animal (pig, goat or chicken, depending upon the condition of the family), circling it around as he spat out a mouthful of wine on its body. This process is known as ta ts'u-tan, signifying the purification of the animal's body. With the Lolo, ta ts'u-tan is an important rite which must be held before the performance of any magic art. After this the Pai-mao, wielding a cypress wand, would mutter liturgies to drive away the evil 755 spirits. From their exorcising scriptures I have 787 gathered the following omens of disaster:
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1. A dog barking or wailing without reason.
2. A mother hog giving birth to a litter of four male piglets.
3. A female animal eating up her newly born.
4. A horse neighing during the night.
5. The horse saddle creaking.
6. The cock crowing erratically or before daybreak.
7. A cock aroused while roosting.
8. A hen laying small eggs.
9. A crow cawing.

10. A pigeon roosting on the roof. 755
11. An ox tail circling round a tree trunk. 787
12. Snakes interweaving their tails. 789
13. Frogs mounting on each other's back.
14. A melon splitting by itself.
15. Insufficient crop yield.
16. Melon vines growing wild.
17. Portents in dreams.
    1. Marriage between parties not of the same generation.
    2. Man wearing clothes; woman discarding them.
    3. Dispatching soldiers toward evening with no road ahead.
    4. Feasting, dining and wining.
    5. Horseback riding.
    6. Fire burning by a man's pillow and things reduced to ashes by his feet.
    7. Woman breaking her ring or bracelet.
    8. Front teeth dropping off.

The above are evil portents to be shunned by the Lolo. When the Pai-mao recited liturgies during the exorcising ceremony, he mentioned them one by one regardless of whether the omens had already brought calamity to the dreamer or not. On reaching certain passages of the scripture the Pai-mao would toss out of the door the topmost cup of wine to offer to the evil spirit. At the same time another man, holding a young chicken (for the use of chick see my article "The Mythology of the Native Peoples in Yunnan," The Southwest Frontier Monthly, No.12) and a few stalks of rice straw, [29] would sweep the floor from the hall of worship to the animal stalls. Thus the evil spirits were swept off from all parts of the house as the Pai-mao continued with more incantations from the evil-exorcising scripture. The priest then turned the chi-tsu and pu-tsu around with their faces outward, showing that all the sins thus chanted

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755 out had been borne by the chi-tsu. Turning
789 around toward the door the priest picked up a piece of charcoal, wrapped it up in straw and sprayed on it wine, tea and salt. Thereupon the Pai-mao threw out the package with all his might, and with it was gone forever all the ill luck in the house. After that the priest, holding the chick in one hand and a cypress wand in another, would tap at the walls and doors of all the rooms for fear that some spirits of disaster might be still lurking along the walls. The wand was used to frighten them away. By this time the indoor rite was over and the priest removed the chi-tsu and pu-tsu from the house for the outdoor rite.

II. The Outdoor Sacrifice

"Respect the spirits but keep away from them" is a realistic description of the psychology of the superstitious. Those who fear that the spirits may cause trouble and do not wish to offend them so as to court disaster must make sacrifices to the spirits in all deference. But they also fear that the spirits may hang around the house to start trouble and so they attempt to keep them away by hook or by crook. For this reason they paste at the gate door-gods and posters with rows of white hand designs. Among the former, Chiang Tai-kung is the most reverenced god among the Lolo, every home having at the gate the poster "T'ai-kung is here; all evil spirits be off". It is said that T'ai-kung is the administrator of all evil and noxious spirits. According to the Lolo when the spirits were appointed to their heavenly places, T'ai-kung was made a ts'u-t'an (vinegar and charcoal) god, whose duty it is to exorcise evil spirits just as ta ts'u-t'an is a means of purification. But this is only a preventive measure. When the disaster has already befallen, the only remedy is to ask the Pai-mao to expel all the evil influences from the house; and in case they

may return again the spirits are led far afield 755
to be given sacrifices so that they will loiter 789
away with a full stomach. The two evils most
feared by the Lolo as I have observed are the
demons of the underworld and the greedy and
corrupt officials of the human world for these
two are the sources of all their misfortune and
bankruptcy. The remedy is "to respect them but
also to keep away from them." So they are en-
tertained with wine and meat; as for the latter
they are also bribed with ts'ai-yen" [money and
opium]. (Readers should not think it curious. At 662
least it does not appear so to people living in
the Lolo district because when a committee man
or a government employee goes to the country on
official duty he is given, besides several thou-
sand dollars for traveling expenses, a few
ounces of opium. So the classical term "money
and silk" for bribery should be more properly
changed in current usage to "money and opium".)
For this reason the Lolo fear the officials more
than the spirits. A proverb says: "When an of-
ficial comes to the village, the people suffer
disaster". Is it not true? It is hoped that
there is a T'ai-kung among us who can extirpate
the corrupt officials in the human world.

The outdoor sacrifice is based upon the 755
foregoing psychology. The best place for it is 789
along the river banks, probably to enable the
spirits to flow away with the current. But the
locale I visited had suffered from the drought
terribly, there being barely a trickle of water
running in the sand at the bottom of the river.
I was rather worried for the family, fearing
that a river without water could not carry the
stubborn spirits away.

On arrival the Pai-mao chose a spot of firm 755
earth and planted in it cypress branches and 789
white fuel wood about a foot in height in serried 773
rows. It is said that the white firewood sticks
are the tablets for the spirits. The use of the

755 cypress branches is based upon a certain myth.
789 According to this story, in very early times when
773 heaven and earth were in a dark confusion and the people suffered greatly, the heavenly lord dispatched three Pai-mao to earth on the mission of rescuing the people. The priests rode on cow's backs, their scriptures tied to the horns of the cow. While crossing the ocean the scriptures got wet from the sea water, and so after reaching land the Pai-mao dried the books on the branches of a cypress tree. But the books stuck on the leaves and twigs, and a half of them were torn out. (Some say that it is the eagles that have clawed into the books; so today when the Pai-mao chants liturgies he wears a cap in the form of eagle's claws to represent the scriptures destroyed). Thus the scriptures used today represent only one half of the original, and the planted cypress branches are meant as a substitute for the lost books.

755 789 Having completed planting the sticks and the spirit seats, the Pai-mao began chanting liturgies to invoke the spirit of the mountain to receive the sacrifice and to watch over the welfare of the family. This mountain spirit is equivalent to the Chinese earth god, because he is the administrator of the area. In all outdoor sacrifices an animal is used (generally a cock for the mountain spirit); so he receives quite a substantial offering.

755 789 787 After the sacrificial ceremony divination was performed to find out whether it was good or bad fortune. Divination is an essential part of the sacrificial rite, and the method used by the Lolo is very simple. The Pai-mao used a mulberry stem about three inches in length and a half inch in thickness. [30] This was sharpened at one end into the shape of a wedge and then split into two halves to form a divining tablet. At the time of divination, it was smeared with some chicken blood or wine. As the Pai-mao mumbled liturgies he

threw the tablet on the ground. If one surface of the split tablet faces upward and the other downward, it would bring good fortune; otherwise it would be badfortune, and the whole process had to be started all over until good fortune appeared. 755 789 787

After good fortune was shown, the Pai-mao would then chant the scripture of sacrifice. The sacrifice itself took the following order: 755 789

1. Live Sacrifice. This was the sacrifice before slaughter.
2. Dead Sacrifice. After slaughter the carcass is offered for sacrifice.
3. Cooked Sacrifice. The meat is cooked and then offered for sacrifice.

The above three steps are essential in the sacrificial rites of the Lolo people.

After the cooked sacrifice the food was partaken of at a meal on the spot.I was invited to the picnic. We all did our best to finish up a roasted piglet, because the food offered in the outdoor sacrifice might not be brought back home for fear that the evil spirits might come back with it.

After supper darkness had already enveloped the earth; therefore, torches were lit for the evening ceremony. Shortly, the Pai-mao picked up the cypress wand and standing amidst the planted sticks, began to recite the liturgies aloud. He held in one hand several straw rings, with one of which he stroked the mistress of the family from head to foot, calling her by her name so as to rid her of bad luck. Then he hung the ring on the chi-tsu so that her misfortune, now gathered in the ring, would be taken over by the effigy. This rite was repeated on each and every member of the family. Next the Pai-mao took a rice spoon, into which the members of the family all expectorated, indicating that their misfortunes and diseases had all been spat out. The saliva was poured

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789 upon the chi-tsu. Both he and the pu-tsu were then taken down and offered before the spirit tablets for sacrifice, and after this they were burned among the branches planted on the ground. Thereupon three cypress branches were stuck horizontally on the ground as a sort of blockade to prevent the chi-tsu from coming back with the disaster. Later a straw rope was held by the Pai-mao at one end and the mistress of the family at the other, the former chanting liturgies and at the same time cutting the rope into three sections to indicate a permanent severance with disaster.

The final act was the cleansing three times by the vapor of the ts'u-t'an stone. The mistress of the family was kind and insisted that I follow her through the steaming vapor three times. In this way whatever misfortune that still clung to the body would be finally wiped away with the ts'u-t'an steam and sent to T'ai-kung to be suppressed.

That day was the last day of the fourth moon. In the pitch darkness I returned from the river bank with the mistress and her servants. As we trod along the uneven mountain path, several times I was in danger of falling down. Once when I climbed a steep stony slope, I slipped and nearly fell over the precipice. I complained to her: "Why did we not bring a torch with us?" She replied that any twig or leaf from the sacrificial ground might not be taken back for fear that misfortune would come back with us. She advised me to be brave and to continue climbing for since we had just come back from the exorcising ceremony, there could not be any disaster happening to us. I could not resist a laugh and said: "Thanks to your good intentions and to the ts'u-t'an cleansing, otherwise I would have been a cliff-fallen devil." The mistress laughed happily and gave me the feeling that the Lolo people are truly superstitious.

I carefully climbed to the hilltop, and as I turned around to look at the altar of sacrifice below, I found the fire that had burned down the chi-tsu was still flickering. In front of me a light seemed to show the path. I thanked my hostess and went alone on my way home. 755 789

Written on the second day of the ceremony, June 3, 1943, at the Hsi-chih Hall in the T'u-ssu yamen at Wan-teh. Revised on December 1, 1943 at Tien-hua Lane in Kunming, and finished copying on December 9 at the Far Eastern Hotel in Pi-chieh while waiting for the train.

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

From a pack saddle we saw on a horse that passed us we 492
saw that animals have to rough it as well as men. There 231
were two rough, wooden angles joined to a flat piece of wood on either side. This was put, as it was, on the horse's back, without a pad of any kind, and apparently must cut into the horse's flesh. I did not, however, see the terrible sights of wounded horses such as one sees any day on the horse roads of West China. I should think that the Nosu are kinder to their horses than the Chinese, who are at times unmerciful to the beasts of burden.

As we neared the end of the day's journey we came to a 789
rock on which was a piece of coarse bamboo matting. On the matting was a chopping-block, and near by a bag containing something or other. Just what was in the bag we did not find out. This was the work of some wizard trying to get rid of the demon of sorrows. If one only knew how to 000
get rid of the sorrow of all these Nosu and the other tribes! Apparently there is only one way, the way which the Man of Sorrows announced to the world centuries ago, and lost His life in doing so.

The day's journey was finished at half-past two, when we reached a village named Gu-tieh. We were very hungry, and glad to reach the end of our day's march. Entering the wattle gate at the end of the village we were first shown into a slave's house and all sat down by the fire. Here we remained some time, wondering what treatment the lord of the village was going to mete out to us. The first thing given us to appease our hunger was a lot of raw turnips. This 262
place is famous for its sweet turnips, and our men were delighted to get them. I was so hungry that I felt I could 000
eat almost anything. While we were eating the turnips a

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CHAPTER XXII

THE FRIENDLY WIDOW'S HOME

WHEN at last we got away from the home of the girl with the coral beads Vri-ha and a number of friends escorted us some distance up the hill. He begged us to come again next year, promising if we did so to take us all over Nosuland, introducing us to the different tribes. Perhaps he also thought that by that time I might be more ready to fall in with his plans. I was very glad to get away without making an enemy of this powerful man, who could even yet carry out the plans of the Defender of the Yangtse and his scoundrelly accomplices who lived at the ferry town. Just as we were leaving one of the brothers brought along one of the eagle-claw winecups and gave it to me. It was very kind of him, and showed that we did not part as enemies.

We had not gone very far before a man came riding after us on horseback, telling us that the two clans, Lai-lai and Shama, were preparing in earnest for an attack on us in response to the plans of Mr Tien. We were determined that Mr Tien should win no game in our contest if we could possibly help it. He undoubtedly was a keen adversary and wished very much to win, but a win on his part meant so much loss to us that we determined to make all necessary preparations to checkmate all his plans.

After the man on horseback had gone back we went on, and soon came to a pole of cursing, where there had been in

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•789 the past a rare cursing of the enemy. The old story of Balaam and Balak over and again! The very fact of this cursing often prevents an enemy from coming that way, for he verily believes the occult forces of nature are in waiting at that special place to undo him. He goes around a long way to avoid what he considers a real danger. Another use is made of the pole of cursing. In a quarrel between two adversaries one will kill a dog and hang its carcass on the pole, cursing his enemy well as he does so. It does not at first sight seem clear what share in the quarrel the dog can take, nor why he should suffer in a trouble that he has had nothing to do with. Possibly the idea is akin to that held by the Chinese, who have a similar custom. When there is a quarrel between two Chinese men or women which cannot easily be settled one will take a dog out to an open place, preferably the public execution ground, and then, after stating the justice of his case and cursing well his antagonist, he will kill the dog and send its spirit into the next world to ask for justice or revenge from those who rule in the dark lands of Hades. It is really an appeal to Pluto, and is supposed to set the spirits of the prison-house in motion against his enemy. What a strange life it must be, living amid occult influences and demons who come out at any time and wreck the best-laid plans or destroy all the happiness of one's home.

789 There is still one more use of the pole of cursing. The
461 hospitality of the Nosu farmers is often abused by a lot of
574 loafers, who in the winter-time, when there is not much doing, make up parties and call on those who live in the lower, warmer levels. In this way they spend their winter months in their kind of a Riviera, and do it at no expense to themselves. By wandering around from home to home, they pass

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the time away and enjoy themselves. When these Riviera holiday-makers become too frequent, some of the lowland farmers erect a pole of cursing near their home, and get a lot of wizards to call an army of demons together to infest the neighbourhood of the pole. This news gets abroad, and effectually stops the bands from straying in that direction. For once one sees some use in ghosts and a haunted spot. Some others of us who get pestered by unwelcome visitors would like to be able to keep a ghost or two to guard the premises and the quiet of the home from certain folk. One wonders, however, what plans are made to keep the ghosts from interfering with the members of the family that desires their help. Possibly the ghosts get tame like household dogs, which in the case of the Nosu will let alone all whom they know, but tear in pieces all strangers they can get at.

We were going now to be the guests, for a day or two, of Ah-pooh's daughter, the widow in the gorgeous robes, who had been so friendly and had taken so deep an interest in all we did when we were at See-tieh. We were expecting a warm welcome, for Ah-ku, the widow, evidently knew how to be hospitable, and to make people feel at home. As we were walking along we suddenly turned a corner, and there, before us, was Loh-deh, the home where Ah-ku and her retainers lived. It was a remarkably situated place, being the spur of a hill, very difficult of access on three sides, and approached on the fourth by a narrow ridge. A band of well-armed men could easily have defended it against ten times their number. Many of these wealthy Nosu, both in their own land and in Chinese territory, have chosen their dwellings with the one idea of defence. Ah-ku lived on the higher part of the ridge, in a strongly built house, with a large tower adjoining. She

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574 and she deserved the best husband that could be found for
292 her. She was nearly as tall as her mother, but not quite so good-looking. The widow mother had managed to keep her looks in a manner remarkable for a West China woman. Most of such women look old at thirty, and very old at that age when British matrons look most handsome and stately. I hope Mr Long was duly impressed with the beautiful figure and handsome dress of Ah-tsu, the widow's pretty daughter. One fancies that if his son had been there instead of the much-married father there might have been no difficulty in the handsome widow getting a suitable husband for her daughter.

789 During the considerable interval while we were waiting for the young lady to complete her elaborate toilet we went into one of the slave's houses near by to see a wizard at work. Entering a small room, where all were seated round a wood fire, we found our old friend, the See-tieh spearman, come to assist two people from another clan who were in great trouble about something. The wizard had a big narrow drum hung on an irregular frame. He held the drum in position by a stick and string at the back, and beat it by another stick which had some goatskin bound just where the stick would strike the drum. Soon after we came in he began shouting and beating the drum, and kept this up until his particular demon seized him. Then he shook his head in a frenzied manner, tossed off his head-dress, moved his face up and down, and appeared as if he were really possessed. But I could not help thinking the man was simulating this possession. Every now and again he seemed to look at me as if wishing to notice what impression on the visitor the coming of the demon made. He seemed to want to know what was my verdict on his great performance. During the frenzy the

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demon conveyed his message to the medium, and by-and-by when the man came to again, he passed this on to the people in trouble. The man went off twice like this when we were present. He was quite willing that I should examine the drum, and did not for a moment suspect that the message I longed most of all to bring to the people of his clan, as well as to all others, was a message that spelt the end of his séances. I stated just now that I could not help thinking that the man was simulating his frenzy. Possibly I may have thought wrongly. I have met a large number of mediums in West China, both aboriginal and Chinese. The aboriginal mediums seem the most popular and the most powerful. They are supposed by the people who patronise them to be the greatest experts in communing with the land of shades, where demons rule. Some of them have assured me that the possession is not simulated, that it represents a very real experience to them, and that after a while their demon is so powerful in its control over them that they can only get peace by having periodical séances, when the spirit can enter them and exert its influences.

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791 certainly accept such an illustration as corresponding closely to their actual rank.

755 In a certain sense these men are also a kind of medicine men in that they deal with diseases of all classes and claim to cure by going to the real cause of the disease. The majority of them have nothing to do with drugs, and when one looks at the advertisement pages of Western newspapers and reads all the puffing accounts of patent drugs which one knows very well cannot possibly do always all that they claim to do, one wonders whether after all these Pee-mo are not on as high a level, or higher, than the many men who make their money by the sale of drugs which may have quick action but which certainly do not move the cause of many of the diseases which so distress mankind. In giving a wide berth to drugs and herbs, and professing to remove the initial cause of disease, these men are aiming at something which most modern medical men are aiming at. If you put germ for demon, then there is much that is similar in both Nosu Pee-mo and the modern physician. In the disregard and almost contempt for drugs which this class of men display they have strikingly anticipated the trend of the modern medical profession. But in his ascribing all disease to the influence of evil spirits who are often under the control of men like himself, he surely is very old-world in his ignorance.

189 According to these men there is the grip of the demon everywhere, and people are afraid to do many things lest their actions should provoke an outburst from some of these evil inhabitants of both worlds.

An incident we were witness of after watching the séance in the slave's home near Ah-ku's tower convinced one that the wizard believed what he preached. He was sincere in his

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789 theory of the demons. Knowing that however he may act in cases brought to him his actions are bound to provoke criticism, and even anger from some people, he thinks it very likely that these people will retaliate by invoking the god of curses to visit him and bring on him the evils this special god is supposed to control. The medium had, therefore, invited a confrère to come and avert from him the anticipated calamity. When we went to match this second ceremony the brother wizard was seated on a coarse mat, with cloak and sun hat on. A few yards in front of him was a fire of bracken burning away. The smoke of the bracken was supposed to convey the messages of the wizards to their special god. Between the first and second wizard were stuck three sharpened stieks to represent spears, and nearer still were eleven small branches of the white-wax tree. There was also a little basin of wine as an offering, and close by a small basket of chips. The wizard was holding a fowl in his hand and a sharpened stick. The two men started their chanting, and every now and again, as they came to certain places in the well-known chant of cursing, the onlookers would join in, as a kind of chorus, by shouting in Nosu : " Clear out, clear out." As they shouted the leader threw a few chips over the branches into the bracken fire. Presently, as the chanting neared the end, the fowl was killed, its blood was sprinkled on the branches and it was thrown right away. Needless to say, it was picked up and eaten later on. The usual grass effigy was made and taken away to some cross-road where people frequently pass. In this way the god of cursing is turned away, and the wizard who has helped others in their trouble himself breathes freely. I noticed that while the chanting was going on the names of all the clans and families

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around were mentioned, that curses from any quarter whatever might be counteracted and sent off at a safe tangent.

One wishes that among these brave but superstitious hillmen some modern medical men would set to work to relieve the suffering that abounds, and lead these people out from the distressing fear of the all-powerful demon. There is a great and happy work waiting for some medical men among the hills of the independent Nosu.

It is strange that the belief in spiritualism is so universal all over China, whether among the Chinese proper or among the aboriginals. One often hears about the three religions of China, but the Chinese themselves sometimes speak of the four religions, and the fourth is the most powerful of all. If Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism are religions, then spiritualism is also one of the religions of these people living in China, and it holds tremendous sway. It is practically all-powerful in Nosuland; it rules among the Nosu south of the Yangtse who have submitted to the rule of the mandarins; it is very prevalent among the other tribes, and almost every Chinese family that is not Christian believes in it.

An attempt has been made, after the Revolution, to put down the trade of the medium, but it has not succeeded. Outside of every town and near to every big village are houses where the mediums are at the disposal of everybody who is prepared to pay for their services. They are willing to visit the other world and find out what influence in the world of shades is working against the fortunes of the inquirer. A Delphic oracle is thus brought to every door, and there are pythonesses galore at a figure within the reach of every pocket. I have watched these mediums at their work many

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Most of the Nosu manuscripts are kept by the Pee-mo in their houses, not far from the wood fires. The smoke rapidly turns the colour of the bamboo paper, and soon gives it the appearance of antiquity. A comparatively recent book thus looks old, and readily deceives one who gets hold of it.

Similar to the Chinese, the Nosu writing is from top to bottom of page. It is vertical and not horizontal. Unlike the Chinese, however, it begins at the left of the page and book.

Here are a few Nosu words with Chinese equivalents:

	Hla, tongue	舌		Loo, dragon	龍
	Veeay, pig	豬		La, tiger	虎
	Du, clouds	雲		Nieh, clouds	雲
	Hm, girl	姑		Pa, father	父
	Mu, mother, female	母		Soo, person, class	族
	Chae, egg	蛋		Nioh, monkey	猴
	Ma, bamboo	竹		No, neh, or nieh, black	黑
	Tsu, man	人		Loh, stone	石
	Lah, thunder	雷		Hm, heaven	天
	Hu, iron	鉄		Ntu, to beat	打
	Shi, gold	金		Lo, hand	手

Nearly all the books I have obtained have been books dealing with diseases and demon possession. These books form the wizard's stock in trade for the casting out of these

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538 demons, and so curing disease. A page from one of these
789 books I have roughly translated as follows :—

Tsi-mu Ku-tu-tu !
Call your tiger to ride swiftly from the Sunset,
Call your tiger to attack my enemy,
Call your tiger to injure him,
Call your tiger to prevent his conception,
Call your tiger to destroy his whole offspring !
There goes the tiger to capture !
Look ! The tiger !
Don't stray aside into the dense forests !
Don't turn and wander up the steep precipices !
Look ! The tiger has got him !
Ah ! The tiger's tongue reaches my enemy !

Another manuscript deals wholly with the demon of leprosy, and is a call to the dragon god, the special god of the Pee-mo and his allies, to drive away the evil spirit which is the cause of the terrible disease. The chant describes how the animals on the hill-sides help in the search for the demon, which changes into various shapes to escape capture, but all in vain. The powerful allies of the wizard and the potency of his cursing at last lead to the capture of the spirit villain, who is forthwith cast into oblivion with a final

You snake leper demon ! You frog leper demon ! Out ! Out !

A few of us, assisted by the Society of Lepers for India and the East, are trying to do something to help the many lepers that exist and suffer among these western hills of China. I am afraid the wizards' curses and their whole army of dragon and allies will not do much to bring success to our campaign.

538 After getting quite a number of the books which form the
773 wizard's stock in trade, I at last got hold of one that dwelt with the origins of things. I have been told that there are